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LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HON.

GEORGE CANNING, M. P.

&c. &c. &c.

ON THE

POLICY OF RECOGNISING

THE

INDEPENDENCE

OF THE

SOUTH AMERICAN STATES.

BY JOHN LOWE,

AUTHOR OF LETTERS TO THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY
AND SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.

LONDON:

1823.

A

LETTER,

&c. &c.

SIR, IT is one of the privileges of Englishmen freely to address men in office when they have grievances to state, or when they conceive errors to exist, which affect the interests of their country. I address you, Sir, therefore, with the assurance that you are ever anxious to attend to the interests of the commercial community which, from your long intimacy with them, you, perhaps, more than many others, understand.

My objects are to press upon you the importance of acknowledging, without delay, the independence of the S. American States in order that we may derive our full share of the benefits of their progressive improvement; and to show you that our commerce with Europe is so circumscribed, that we cannot defer, without serious prejudice, a measure which would not only insure its extension, but its increase.

It would be unnecessary to attempt to show, that prosperity in any class of society must produce a corresponding state in other classes. It is with nations as with individuals; wealth creates demand, and this will produce industry: where this is the case, errors must manifestly exist in the system, and all retrograde, if all attempt to live in independence. Indigence, misery, and despair, will be the inevitable consequences; and ignorance and demoralisation will supplant freedom. until the pursuits of life shall be disturbed by the inroads of tyranny or arbitrary power. Former ages exemplify this truth; but, if we require any further proof, we shall find it in those countries where the arts and religion are not known beyond the providing for existence.

y the chase, or the intuitive perceptions of a future state ; or, where the first advances to knowledge have generated bigotry and superstition. The characteristic feeling of commerce is a love of gain ; and it is that principle which leads to bold enterprise and action. It has done more to civilise the world than all the efforts of men, who, from religious zeal, have penetrated the regions of barbarity, and traversed the lands of the Brahmin and the Turk, to plant the standard of the cross, at the peril of their existence. The science of commerce administers universally to our wants ; and there is, in truth, no object in the policy of states, whether for ambition, power, or aggrandisement, which does not involve measures to influence it by improvement, or the contrary. The arts can only progress with freedom of commerce ; they have a tendency to preserve, if not produce, a free government, and cannot permanently prosper under a bad one.

With Englishmen the question of trade involves considerations of such magnitude, that we enter on it with those feelings which men must have when they are considering of their means of existence ; *for England cannot exist in prosperity without commerce, much less support the burdens which press on her, and which form the legacies of those wars which are only just terminated.*

One of the motives which was powerfully set forth during the late contentions, to excite this country patiently to bear the sacrifices it made, was to subvert a power whose professed object was to destroy our trade and rob us of existence as a nation. The incursions made on the peace and tranquillity of other nations, disturbed all those pursuits which contributed to the happiness of individuals ; and nations submitted to a disgraceful yoke, until it became so galling as to excite a spirit, which seemed, until then, to lie dormant. England alone, at one period, maintained her station, when all around seemed to fall into a chaos of disorder, confusion, and tyranny. The sons of Britain bled profusely in the cause, and shed a lustre over the annals of England, not to be tarnished by envy, nor sullied by detraction. When peace was proclaimed, we were intoxicated with joy, and our ideas centred in the gratifying prospect of harmony and good-fellowship : we hoped that, as we had been fighting for the same cause, we should, at least, remove the evils which an unnatural war had inflicted on us. *These hopes have ended in disappointment ;* and although promises were made, by continental governments to their people, the system now pursued contains only this difference from that of Bonaparte, that he professed to reign arbitrarily, and the present governors add to the same system all the bitterness of disappointment and broken faith. In Prussia, a constitution was distinctly promised to the people. Lately, when a king and a people entered into mutual

and sacred conventions, with tranquillity and apparent good-faith each seeming to rejoice that laws are enacted to secure the liberties of the other, armies are poured down on them from the north, and a synod of emperors and kings is held to direct the weak mortals whom they govern, and to prevent their minds from wandering into the mazes of forbidden knowledge.

This is precisely the tyranny of Bonaparte, with more form and, like it, it must and will have an end. If the war was continued with a view to any public good, what has occurred in peace to lessen the evils which it professed to remedy? And can that in commerce, be called public good which would place nations like the stars in the hemisphere, existing, but having no communication with one another? England cannot, surely, be a party to an alliance for so unhallowed a purpose, so completely at variance with all our notions, the spirit of our government, and all that we consider necessary to our happiness. Enjoying as we do the benefit of equal laws, jealous as we are of unrestrained power, and, I may add, successful as we are in establishing a sense of mutual right without impairing the dignity of the aristocracy, we are, in this country, too apt to measure the justice of these complaints abroad by what it would be in England. Even the high party of this country, knowing by experience, the laws and their administration in foreign states, would shrink at the simple notion of being a link in a chain forged to subvert every rising spirit which would demand, without violence, a participation in social rights. The despotic ideas which govern the continent induce governments to look on Englishmen, when amongst them, as dangerous to their policy; and the liberal productions in this country, calculated to enlighten the mind, correct the feeling, and give value to our political existence, are condemned as violent and sedition. The free expression of thought which we enjoy, would be considered, by them, without more licentiousness than we have in the use of it, as the shield of treachery and insubordination.

Englishmen may differ in shades of opinion, but all are unanimous in one strong wish,—that men should be protected in the fair exercise of the only privilege which can give life value, and sweeten existence by a due share of liberty. Our aristocracy is not the less respected, or is its dignity diminished, by being forced to sustain a comparison with the lower orders; and the homage we pay to it arises from a pure respect for rank mingled with all our rights, and adding to its lustre, by intelligence, talent, and common feeling. Do you feel, Sir, that, because you are the Minister of such a people, your office is less honorable than if you were the instrument of arbitrary power? Do you not, on the contrary, feel, that

dependence on public opinion gives to it a splendor which it would otherwise not have? The freedom of our institutions is a positive good, and it would be palpably inconsistent in us to be one of an alliance to make war against opinions and the promulgation of laws and institutions like our own.

We fought, Sir, for objects wholly different from those which appear to characterize the end of the war; the valorous spirit was not exercised, sacrifices were not made, our treasures were not emptied, to change one tyranny for another.

If all this be true, Sir,—if it be inconsistent in Englishmen to enthrall others, is there any thing which can imperatively call on us to sacrifice, on the score of policy, any positive good which is at present within our reach?

I have thus far attempted to show, on general grounds, that we have no interest to seek in politics with the continental powers, which would not be quite consistent with our own institutions: and let us now slightly glance at our position in a commercial point of view.

It is very true that we have ourselves, by adopting a limited system, brought on many of the evils of a restricted commerce; but the virulent commercial jealousy which exists of us abroad, has subverted that beautiful order which Providence seems to have ordained by the varieties of climate and soil, and the forge and the plough are placed where only the ploughshare and the husbandman ought to be known. The war of commerce has been carried to a length quite inconsistent with sound policy and that good feeling to which we looked forward with delight: from the north to the south, trade in our manufactures is quite as difficult as it was during the worst period of Bonaparte's reign; and as it was then, so it continues to be almost universally, a commerce of contraband. Without claiming any thing as gratitude for our services and sacrifices, have we even so much freedom for our trade as enables us to send our manufactures to market with fair competition? We have shown no wish to overwhelm the industry of our neighbors, and have sought no preference, except that to which more merit, more perseverance, or the advantages which Providence has granted us, might fairly intitle us.

Bonaparte attacked our commerce as our vital part, and inflicted on us such misery for a time, as threatened us with that horrible state of things, when the relations of life become a dependence on one another, by making us only debtors and creditors; the rich appearing to become poor, and the poor without any cheering hope of amelioration; and yet, during his sway, more of our manufactures found their way to the continent than now, when in a state of peace, when we are laboring under difficulties brought on us by

our exertions to establish the liberties of those foreign states who with inveteracy, enact laws as injurious in their effects as those of Bonaparte himself.

We have annually from Russia a tariff, showing how the government is striving to exclude us, in opposition to its own real interests. In Prussia, it is no better: in Austria, a few nobles giving dignity to the humble occupations of manufacturers, by taking their calling, have influenced their government to prohibit our goods; and they have been able to effect what all the weight of our councils could not prevent. We sacrificed to that country one of the most valuable branches of our exports, by suffering it to extend its laws with its dominion over the most luxuriant and wealthy part of Italy; nay, it has not only shut us out of the Piedmontese States, but extended its influence, to our prejudice in the kingdom of Sardinia, introducing its inferior manufactures to supplant those we were in the habit of supplying them with. With the extension of its influence, it has inherited the curses of its new subjects; and all under this government are held in a state of captivity, which can create as little respect for the people for the governors. The people of Austria are distinguished for excellence of character and disposition, but they are vilified by oppression; and countries which have unfortunately fallen under the imperial government, are withering to decay, and poverty and misery, as in Venice, must follow as a consequence. In France, Spain, and Portugal, the same difficulties to our trade exist; we cannot send a piece of calico, or expedite a ship to any of the ports, without difficulties, or such enormous duties, as almost amount to a prohibition: with the last, indeed, we have the semblance of treaties, and an agreement was made in one of them, that our goods should be admitted into the island of Madeira, under the same duties as goods coming from Lisbon—with a clause intended to protect our manufactures from French competition, as a compensation for the advantages we grant in the import of their wine; and yet, even Portugal, in this diminutive trade, keeps no fair for the customs of that place admit French manufactures to such an extent, that we are no longer able to continue the exports of many articles with any success. We are made, Sir, the stalking horse of these *friendly* powers; they use us when they want us, and they hesitate not to injure us, if their interests should seem to require it.

The system is already far advanced, and those who have an opportunity of knowing the continent well must be convinced that we have no hopes of recovering that trade with it which we formerly possessed; so far indeed from ever being likely to return to the same demand for our manufactures, exports of the same

description have been made to new countries, in competition with us, and efforts are making, under the auspices of governments, to extend the competition as far as may be. Of their success we are not yet competent to judge; but when we reflect, that the products of the new world will be mainly consumed on the continent, it behoves us to strain every nerve, to throw in the weight of our capital, our industry, our enterprise, and all the facilities which we can give to trade, to retain that pre-eminence *which is necessary to our existence*, and which we have been accustomed to consider as our own.

It is not long, Sir, since the cries of our manufacturers resounded through the nation; and you cannot have forgotten the alarm which the plots of starving individuals created; they were not relieved by any increased demand from the continent; no relaxation in the restrictions which existed called forth new demands, or opened old channels; and it is frightful to contemplate what had been our position, had we not found a demand from the E. Indies and S. America.

Is then the policy of the continental powers such, as to afford us any hope? Are our relations with the continent of such a nature, as to administer permanently to our existence and our happiness as a state? And ought we, for one moment, from a feeling of delicacy, or mistaken policy, to place our trade in jeopardy, or lose any possible advantage by hesitations to embrace an opportunity of cultivating an advantageous connexion? That must be a mistaken policy, which is founded on a deference to power which does not exist; to wishes that can never be accomplished. Can Spain exercise power over the S. American states with effect, or obtain ascendancy by a wish? She is not likely to acquire by words what her arms could not effect; nor will she wash out the recollection of the atrocities she has committed, or subdue the spirit of independence, by simply saying, that she will retain her title to the sovereignty of these distant lands. When we look back to the years, during which she has exercised her power,—when, in that very period, Europe exults in the progress which civilisation has made; when we see all men enjoying, more or less, the benefits of liberal notions, then turn to the vilified state in which the provinces of S. America have remained under their influence; shall we not rather exult, on the score of humanity, that the yoke is broken, and that millions of men are likely to be added to the pale of civilised nations, and to become worthy of all the blessings of liberty, and enjoy all the advantages of rational civil institutions?

The general feeling which pervades those countries is one calculated to inspire us with attachment, and to excite in us, on all

accounts, a lively interest in their fate. The climate being tempered by all seasons, the soil being fertile in the produce of almost every article, the people not deficient in common intelligence,—offer every material for cultivation, and promise advantages, both politically and commercially, against which nothing in our European commercial or political relations can, as regards us, be put in comparison; it depends, therefore, on ourselves not to sacrifice our prospects, and to give employment to our capital, exercise to our industry and perseverance. Delay is pregnant with danger; time will give these new states more strength; they will feel less wish for our friendship in proportion as they have less need of it, and they cannot be supposed to entertain the same sense of gratitude for an act which is more the consequence of deliberate policy than of an ingenuous love of free institutions and of all the good which must accrue to them and us from their freedom and prosperity. It is not more than 44 years ago when the population of the United States did not exceed 2,400,000 souls, and that country possesses no capabilities which S. America has not in a very superior degree. The latter produces the same articles and many others; and when we reflect on the extensive provinces which are imperfectly cultivated, the prospect of trade, with an increased population, become cheering. In that country there is no idea of rivalling our manufactures; no interest to do so; no jealousy of our prosperity; and neither their interests nor feelings are incompatible with our own. We have been so little acquainted with the interior of these countries that we have been more accustomed to regard their names almost as connected with fable; it is only since we have heard of efforts for freedom that we have divested our minds of the notion that the inhabitants of the South were people little better than savages and are only now learning that they are men like ourselves, and possessing the same feelings. The triumph of commerce is complete in the prospect of diffused happiness; and regions which have been covered with a veil of darkness are now likely to be laid open to our enterprise and to become markets for our industry. A very short time ago Santa Fé, a town which is now the seat of the government of a free people, was scarcely known; and even now, the ignorance concerning that country is so great, that many regard the efforts making to bring them from oblivion as fruitless or foolhardy.

The trade of the W. Indies, which of late years has been to a considerable extent, has been mainly supported by a contraband with many of these countries; and, in proportion as facilities increase for a direct trade, this must gradually decline, and Jamaica and St. Thomas will, like Heligoland and Malta, during the

war, be reduced to their native consumption. Taste for articles acquired by custom ; and commerce is governed much by habit and usage ; once in a channel, it is difficult to alter its course, and we cannot help feeling some alarm that the alacrity with which *other nations may cultivate these new states may deprive us of many advantages which we might still secure.* The readiness with which individuals have come forward to assist them by loans must create good feeling, and it would intitle us to some consideration in commercial arrangements. These loans operate in favor of our commerce, and unless a country grown grey in luxury, weakened by debts, and overcome by redundant population, can be said to offer better security than one without debt, rich in production, and growing in population, they rest on a surer foundation than those contracted for countries who offer nothing but bonds as security, and who are compelled to raise new loans to pay the interest of old ones. These new countries may be yet in some uncertainty as to their governments, but it is certain that no European power will again subjugate them ; they will gradually consolidate their plans ; honorable dealing will be their interest, whatever may be their principles ; and, when other governments recognise their titles, they will gradually take consistence and become stable. The loans for S. America are laid out in our ships, and our manufactures, and to employ a great deal of our population. They are applied to secure the countries, and, by giving security, to give industry worth, and by it create demand. Not so with the continental loans ;—they are money absolutely abstracted from trade ; a fictitious value is given to capital which diverts it from any employment which can possibly benefit this country ; and if war should ensue, or revolutions take place, we shall soon discover that we have been resting on a broken reed. You, Sir, must know better than many others how far it is probable that the people on the continent will long continue to submit to remain in their present state ; but those who have had opportunities of judging, look with alarm at the spirit which is fostered in Russia, Prussia, and in many parts of Germany and Italy. The complaints become loud. Light the torch and it will blaze with a rapidity which nothing but concessions will be able to arrest.

The interests of Englishmen are already embarked with those of S. America. We are in the same vessel with them :—the winds which blow adversely for them will be unpropitious to us, and the reefs on which it will split will endanger ourselves. Our existence is greatly involved in theirs ; and we cannot look with indifference at the neglect of any measure which would increase their happiness or their security. It is worthy of a great nation—it would administer to the best and dearest feelings of Englishmen

—to aid a people struggling for freedom, and to foster a spirit like our own. We have been foremost in the defence of social rights during war, and we ought not to be backward in cultivating the tranquil spirit of peace. In looking at the New World, and reflecting on our important trade through the W. Indies, we are naturally directed to Colombia, and we are struck with admiration at the rapid progress of a country in civilisation which was so lately involved in revolution. It has elicited characters which would not disgrace the best periods of history; and there are many examples of forbearance and devotion to the cause of freedom which would grace the pages of Roman history. The country is blest with almost every advantage which Nature could bestow on it; and as it offers in abundance numerous articles of commercial interest, it affords the prospect of a prosperous population, which will render connexion with it advantageous and desirable. The peculiar position of Darien, which is under the government of Colombia, from its being a narrow neck of land would render the undertaking of cutting a canal to unite the Atlantic and Pacific Seas easy, with proper aid, and its accomplishment would be of such stupendous importance to commerce that it would do honor to the age, and it would be one worthy the assistance of our countrymen, and would be honorable to Government to grant it its countenance and support. The country of Mosquito, hitherto so little known, would, by its contiguity, obtain importance, and its riches would be discovered and applied to the useful purposes of intercourse; for we now know that its capabilities are great, if properly developed. The provinces of Nicaragua and Guatemala have long been famed for their riches, and we should have the advantages of approaching them by a more facile communication. The king of Mosquito is personally friendly to every thing which would promote commerce and civilisation, and it is with this object that he has lately granted a whole tract of country, called Poyais, to a British subject, who is taking active measures to promote colonisation and to cultivate the country. I speak with reserve of a country with which I may be thought to have a personal interest; but, on examining its peculiar position and on knowing that its boundaries are mountainous, its soil rich and productive, and its climate highly salubrious; you cannot regard, without interest, the establishment of a British colony in a situation so well calculated to promote the ends of commerce. We must not be led away by the prejudices or partial representations of men who have interests in the neighbouring settlements of Honduras; for the fact will turn out that that country will dwindle into insignificance in proportion as Poyais will attain strength; and one day the whole coast of Mosquito will assume

importance, from its own resources and its peculiar position, which must be very great, *merely* as constituting the channel of communication with the Pacific. Samples of aloes, white pepper, gum, and gold, in addition to the articles which are the known produce of Poyais, are here, and have been examined by men of science, who have declared them to be of value.

Going round the southern hemisphere every thing invites us to active exertion in commerce; and if you will examine the exports which have already taken place, you will be struck with the prospect of the advantages which we must derive from being able to deal with them as with nations duly recognised; for trade must labor under some irregularities; confidence will be tardy until this is done. Within a very short period the sendings to Colombia have been considerable, and they would have continued with much greater activity but for the numerous difficulties which the commerce has had to contend with. Besides two previous cargoes, amounting to upwards of 70,000*l.*, I have myself expedited, for various interests, to Maraycabo two cargoes, amounting, together, to nearly 60,000*l.*, and, but for the enormous premiums of insurance which the insecurity of the navigation, arising from pirates, has induced, another cargo, which has been partly in readiness for some time, would have followed immediately. We cannot reflect on such impediments, so unexpected during peace, but with feelings of intense pain; and when we read the numerous accounts, verified on all sides, of the cruelties committed on helpless and unarmed individuals, by a race of marauders as formidable as any power could be in war, as Englishmen, cherishing the remembrance of the exploits of our brave tars, and proud of their glory, we are stounded at the fact that we are liable to such barbarity; and we are ashamed to hear that we are compelled to seek protection from flags, whom we should rather have expected to find seeking shelter under our wing, not granting a precarious and poor security to our property. We have suffered so much that we forget that we ought never to have been laid open to such violence, and we are grateful for the promise of protection: we sincerely hope that those expectations will not be destroyed by an inefficiency of force to accomplish them. The premiums we are compelled to pay to the W. Indies are so heavy, as to deduct so much from any possible profits, that the trade must, on this account alone, diminish, and the effects must very soon be sensibly felt in the falling off of demand for our manufactures.

In the absence, too, of an enlarged system to give to our trade with S. America consistency and complete facility, we are grateful for the concessions made to give to it some latitude by admit-

ting their flags in our ports ; but, since we do not at once recognise the independence of these new states, I presume, we could scarcely blame them if they should adopt retaliatory measures, to prevent our ships from coming to their ports, or their produce from coming to England. With the probability, or, at least, possibility of such a measure we cannot help regarding any thing which would prevent us from receiving, directly or indirectly, their produce, as calculated rather to injure our trade than benefit it. By 12 C. II. c. 18. s. 14, it is provided, 'That it shall and may be lawful to and for any of the people of England, Ireland, Wales, Islands of Guernsey or Jersey, or Town of Berwick-on-Tweed, in vessels or ships to them belonging, and whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners, at least, are English, to land and bring in, from any of the ports of Spain or Portugal, or Western Islands, commonly called Azores, or Madeira, or Canary Islands, all sorts of goods or commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture of the plantations or dominions of either of them respectively. And by 3 Geo. IV. c. 42. s. 4, it is enacted, 'That, from and after the passing of this Act, so much and such parts of the said recited Act of the 12th year of Charles II. for the encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation, shall be repealed, as relates to the importation of any of the commodities of the Streights, or Levant Seas, or to the importation of all sorts of goods or commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture, of the plantations or dominions of Spain or Portugal respectively, from any of the ports of Spain or Portugal, or Western Islands, commonly called Azores, or Madeira, or Canary Islands, and so much and such parts of the said Act is and are hereby repealed accordingly.'

To render such provisions effectual we ought to apply similar legislative measures to Germany, France, &c. but we must bear in mind that we have hitherto been mainly the channel of supply for their articles, and the S. Americans have it in their power to deprive us entirely of the trade, and to give it a direction without our intervention. As individuals, we trust to the enlarged and liberal views of those governments not to do so ; but no legislative or political feeling here gives us any good reason to insist on its being otherwise.

To sell largely, Sir, we must buy largely.—Trade cannot exist as an export only, and if it be an object worthy the attention of Government to give extension to our manufactures, facility must be largely given to enable us to deal as buyers as well as sellers. I would implore you to contemplate the period to which I have ventured to allude, when our manufacturing interest was so depressed ; and to reflect that that valuable trade, which we, of late

have had with the W. Indies, is dying away from an uncertain reliance on a direct opening with the Main; so long as this is in jeopardy, confidence cannot be wholly restored, and operations to both will be partial until decisive measures are adopted to put us on a substantial and firm footing. Reflect, too, that nothing can so materially contribute to the relief of the landed interest as a diffusion of wealth amongst all other classes; and that, with an increase in the sale of woollens and calicos, a proportionate one will follow in the consumption of all the produce of the soil; nothing can permanently relieve it but this, and a decline of commerce would be attended with evils too dreadful to contemplate.

It cannot be necessary for merchants to importune you, who know their interests, to protect them. Commerce is the guardian angel of all our prosperity, wealth, and happiness, and its voice is loud in demanding freedom, without which it must die.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient and very humble Servant,

JOHN LOWE.

To the Rt. Hon. G. Canning, M.P. &c.

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nation did not forget its obligations to France at the commencement of the French revolution, the documents respecting our foreign affairs, which have been given to the world by our minister, Mr. Monroe, now the President of the United States, will sufficiently explain. My instructions, says that great patriot, enjoined my utmost endeavors to inspire the French government with perfect confidence in the solicitude which was felt for the success of the French revolution, and of the preference due to a nation which had rendered us important services in our revolution. The senate had expressed with sensibility the same good wishes, and the House of Representatives say to the ally of the United States, that with increasing enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, they take a deep interest in the happiness and prosperity of the French republic. A nation, like our own, that is indebted to foreign aid for the independence it possesses; that has welcomed to its service the talents and virtues of foreigners; that has been solicitous to explain its hopes to the world, and professes in turn a readiness to prefer the allies of its infancy for the strength they gave, will not be hasty in rejecting the best opportunities to extend the blessings it enjoys in full consent with its commerce and prosperity; and they who have felt the gratitude which the enthusiasm of past times has inspired, will never be deceived by any names which may be used to disgrace the obligations we owe to the cause of humanity, wherever it may appear. — If our humanity can do but little, we may be suffered to do much by the example of those who consult only their own interest. We should not be deceived by a policy that may seem to appeal to our integrity, while it may serve itself of our simplicity. The history of our own may explain to us what we owe to South America.

“Dean Tucker, in his answer to objections upon separation of the colonies, observes—‘It has been the unanimous opinion of the North Americans for these fifty years past,’ speaking at the declaration of independence, ‘that the seat of empire ought to be transferred from the less to the greater country, that is, from England to America; or, as Dr. Franklin elegantly phrased it, from the cock-boat to the man of war. Moreover, the famous American pamphlet, *Common Sense*, (in the composition of which Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams are supposed to be principally concerned) declares it to be preposterous, absurd, and against the course of nature, ‘that a great continent should be governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet. And as England and America, with respect to each other, reverse the common order of nature, it is evident they belong to different systems—England to Europe, and America to itself.’”

